1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided.

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house.

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride.

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins.

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return.

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

846 612 neighbors, or friends in the agricultural slack season or, if she can afford it, a hired woman from Hsin Hsing or another village to come daily to do the heavy household work. However, it is not at all unusual for the new mother to begin to do heavy housework within a week after giving birth. It is interesting to note that *ch'in ch'i* relatives rarely, if ever, come to help the woman with her household tasks.

846 784 During the first month after the birth, the new mother may not go outside of the house between sunset and sunrise "because she will make heaven and earth dirty, and because she is also afraid of devils at night." This belief is said to be quite widespread throughout the local area and even in nearby towns. The prohibition also applies to the woman's laundered clothing, which must be taken inside the house by sunset even if still wet. If the new mother were to show herself or her clothing outside the house at night, the next child born to her might be abnormal—a "devil baby" or a "dirty baby."

843 845 784 According to the villagers, such devil babies may also be born under other circumstances. For example, "stubborn people or those who do not believe or follow traditions can have a devil baby." In one case of such a birth, a woman's husband had insisted on building their house on a spot which the geomancer had deemed unsuitable. The birth of an abnormal child may be brought about by other actions as well: the villagers believe that if a woman is pregnant neither she nor anyone near her should cut things, bang nails with a hammer, or bore holes. If either of the latter acts is performed, the baby may be born with a hole in its head. If one cuts such things as cloth, the baby may be born with a cleft palate. Once when a pregnant woman in Hsin Hsing passed under a bamboo tree which someone was cutting down, she "gave birth to a baby with a deep opening in its head so that one could see the brains. The baby died." The explanations are obviously rationalizations for birth abnormalities and, at the same time, tend to reinforce social conformity and the maintenance of the traditional beliefs and customs.

846 782 On the third and the twelfth days after birth of the child, the husband's family offers their ancestors and the gods fried glutinous rice. This ceremony is held more frequently for boys than girls. When the baby is a month old the family again worships, this time offering dough cakes as sacrifices.

553 On the ninth day after birth the infant is given a name. In Hsin Hsing this is usually done by the older members of the patrilineal family such as the grandparents. According to several villagers, the given name must not be the same as that of any living relative or friend of the family, as it would be disrespectful to the older person.

In typical Chinese fashion, it is common in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area for the first character of the given name to be the same for all children of the same generation in a single *tsu*, or at least

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

perous family puts on a show little better than the poorest village family on religious feast days. Even our assistants felt that the Lims did not live up to the standards expected of them in this regard. "If my mother hadn't raised some turkeys," he continued, "my wife wouldn't even have been able to have the chicken broth when my daughter was born. [This refers to a strongly held belief that a mother must have chicken and chicken broth at least three times a day in the first few days following childbirth.]

"What does this family look like? Who can see it most clearly? I think my grandfather could see it clearest even then. We should have taken some chicken cooked in wine to my wife's family home when my son was a month old. That is the custom—he was the first born and a male besides. We do this to announce our happiness. Uncle was in charge of the money then, and he didn't say a word about it, so my grandfather took his own money and sent someone to Tapu to buy the things for him. The people from my wife's family sent many things back and my grandfather made a special point of showing these things to Uncle. Uncle didn't pay any attention to this. Evidently that made Grandfather very angry and one of our friends came to visit him and found him like that. He said, 'It isn't as though A-bok doesn't work for our family. How can we treat him like this? No matter how poor this family may have become, we are not so poor that we are going to starve to death. It is only because A-bok's father is dead that he has to depend on us to do these things for him. If his father was alive, you can imagine how finely these things would be done!' I didn't know about this until after the friend came and told me. He said my grandfather talked and talked, and all the time the tears rolled down his face. The friend was very worried about my grandfather. He had never cried in his life.

"It was my grandfather who started the factory, not my uncle. When they couldn't make wine in it anymore, it just sat there empty and someone came and asked Grandfather if they could rent it to make paper bags. Grandfather said they could rent it if they would take him in as a partner. This is the way it got started. It wasn't my uncle's doing. My uncle should be teaching the younger generation how to run the factory, but he won't. I think he is afraid to let me or Masa know what goes on there. He thinks that if he doesn't let me know anything about how to run the business, he can take it later without any worries." This was the first time A-bok admitted in my

843 For just about every other event in village requiring
562 religious-magical activities, men predominate in their performance. It appears that women may worship individually more often than men, but if an activity is required rather than voluntary, men usually perform it. Women are dominant only in religious activities which focus on pregnancy and childbirth. Before birth, the only requirement for men is continuance of sustenance responsibilities, tendency to indulge his wife's whims (particularly food cravings), and sexual abstinence during the last month of the pregnancy.
• 846 He has responsibility after birth for a month's continued sexual abstinence and joint participation in naming, cele-
843 brating, and introducing the child. The expectant father has no requirements regarding food or ritual which are the equivalents of those for his wife.

The delayed onset of the menstrual period marks the beginning of pregnancy. Almost all women state pregnancy is accompanied by a craving for odd foods which comes and goes all during pregnancy. Most of the foods are not very expensive but are unusual or out of season. Morning sickness is fairly common but only present in a minority of cases. Aside from certain forbidden activities, morning sickness or pregnancy in general is not expected to interfere with a woman's daily activities and hard work. Work continues right up until near parturition for everyone agrees that hard work, particularly many walks up into the mountains, will make parturition easier.

843 and moreover, since a woman typically is pregnant for a
796 period of time before becoming aware, the bedrooms of po-
356 tentially fertile women are seldom cleaned. The only truly
844 safe period is 30 days after a child is born, the morning before intercourse is resumed. If Tai Shen is inadvertently offended, which can be detected through a sharp pain in the abdomen at the time of the disturbing activity, it
844 is necessary to call in a shaman to pacify him. Because
796 of Tai Shen it is necessary that parturition take place in the regular bedroom.

878 An interesting change in this belief about Tai Shen
844 is related to modern medical practices emanating out of a
796 small public hospital in Hsin Tien which provides a doctor
985 for child birth. The mines provide the families of workers with medical insurance and many miner's wives are therefore having babies in the hospital, fairly common in Erhlei but still rare in Sanlei. Twenty years ago, it was impossible to discover the hiding place of Tai Shen but today, religious specialists are able to detect his hiding place so the object in which he is hiding can be taken to the hospital in Hsin Tien with the woman in labor.

843 There is a whole host of other taboos for the pregnant woman: tying strings in her bedroom will effect the baby's fingers: using scissors, the ears: needles, the eyes, etc. Funerals are likely to cause miscarriages. Wedding ceremonies are also off limits because the belief in hsi

844 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to
[111] the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for
846 good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days,
853 as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with rice porridge and green onions.

846 In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month
[262] for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work; the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

• 846 [783] After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the 846 baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 834 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this 831 resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very funny.

Babies

There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.